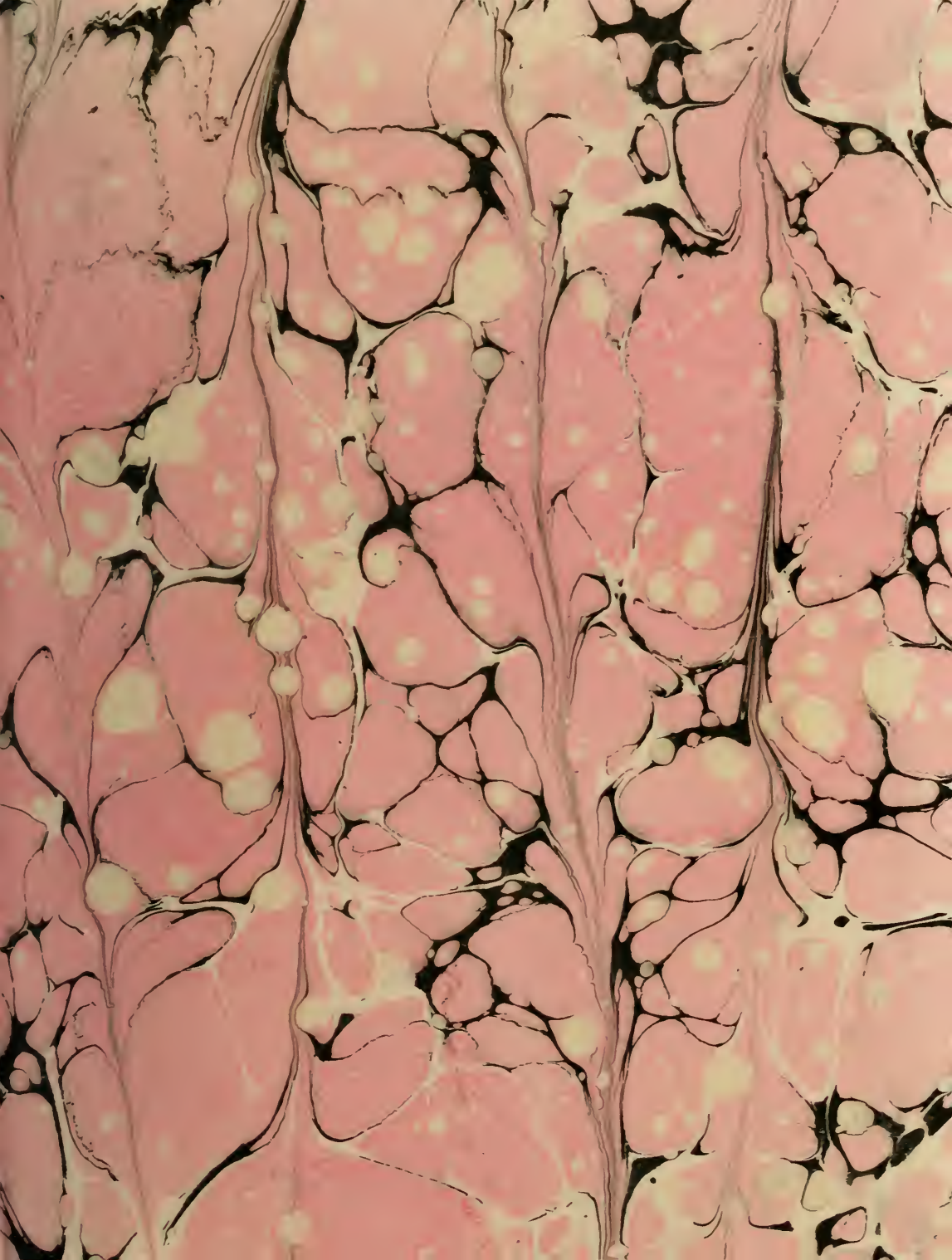

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By Sir James Welwood a Scotch Physician
practising in Newcastle upon Tyne
was the author of these Letters
Mrd

John Hodgson B.D. a native of Durham was
vicar of Stockton 1672-89. Between 1677 - 1682
[illegible] died 2 Dec 1685

3,032,053

A

VINDICATION

Of the preſent

Great Revolution

IN

ENGLAND:

IN FIVE

LETTERS

Paſs'd betwixt *James Welwood*, M. D. and Mr. *John March*, Vicar of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*.

Occaſion'd by a

SERMON

Preach'd by him on *January* 30. $168\frac{8}{9}$. before the Mayor and Aldermen, for *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*.

Licenſed, *April* 8. 1689.

London Printed, and ſold by *R. Taylor* near *Stationers-Hall*, 1689.

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THE PREFACE.

READER,

NOthing can excuse me, even to my self, for thus appearing in Print, but the occasion of it, backt with a Command I could not disobey. Not many Months ago the posture of Affairs in Europe threaten'd no less than the utter extirpation of the Reform'd Religion, and Re-establishment of a Yoke, so happily thrown off, the Age before. The French King, more from the weakness of his Contemporary Princes, and a fatal Friendship packt up with the Two last Kings of England, than either by his own Strength or Mony, had rendred himself so formidable abroad, and absolute at home, as enabled him to fall on his Protestant Subjects, in a Path untrodden by the worst of the Primitive Persecutors themselves, seeing in this, even the favour of Dying was denyed them: And neither the mighty Services they had done that King in preserving the Crown upon his Head in his Minority, nor the solemnest Sanctions ratified by Oath, could secure these poor Victims from the Villany and Cruelty of Popish Counsels. The on-looking Protestant States stood amaz'd at this Tragick Scene; and all the Assistance they were able to give their distrest Brethren, was that of Prayers and Tears; they themselves expecting to appear next upon the mournful Theater. The Accession of a Popish Prince to the Throne, the barefac'd Invasions of Liberty and Property, the palpable Incroachments on Laws and Fundamental Constitutions, with that Anpm of Popish Confidence, a Prince of Wales, were Events too great and important, not to awaken England out of a Lethargy, the reiterated Promises of preserving the Protestant Religion as by Law establish'd, had cast her into. And as some Diseases are not known till past cure, all the effect of her awakening was to see her Case desperate and her Ruine inevitable. Things were in this deplorable State, when his present Majesty, led by the Hand of Heaven, and sway'd by the glorious Motives of Honour and Religion, to save us from the precipice of Ruine, ventur'd on an Enterprize unexampl'd in the Records of Time.

This ſtupendious Attempt including in its Womb the Fate of this, and all other Reform'd Churches of Chriſtendom, *was ſeconded with the* Prayers, *and alternate* Hopes *and* Fears *of all* good *Men, who juſtly conſidered the then Prince of* Orange's *Intereſt, with that of our Religion,* Lives *and* Liberties, *were embarkt* in one and the ſame Bottom.

The Almighty *was pleas'd beyond the ordinary Tracts of* Providence, *to meet the Nations preſſing Miſery, and to bring* our Deliverer *to the* Capital City, *there to be addreſt with the juſt thanks of a People he had* ſav'd from Deſtruction, *and the humble offer of the Government Military and Civil, for that Juncture. It was at this very time, that I had the unhappineſs to be hearer of a Sermon preach'd by Mr.* March; *in which his now* Majeſties *Glorious Enterprize and the Concurrence and Actings of the* Nobility *and* Gentry *of* England *were ſcandaliz'd with the name of* Rebellion; *and the now* Lord Biſhop *of* Salisbury, *treated in the rudeſt manner, for a Paper ſaid to be his,* viz. An Enquiry into the Meaſures of Obedience, *&c. which Mr.* Vicar *undertook in his Sermon to refute. To hear ſuch a Diſcourſe, ſo tim'd, and to find its approbation eccho'd by the Gentlemans Admirers, was a thing very unpleaſant to me; to ſee a* Prince *condemn'd in the Pulpit by the* very Men *he came to* ſave, *and the People cajol'd by* Plauſible Inſinuations *into a bad Opinion of ſo great a Deliverance, were too preſſing Motives to break Silence. And if I may add one particular Swaſive to theſe of a more publick Nature, the friendſhip betwixt the Learned Doctor* Thomas Burnet, *Phyſician, and me, and the Obligations I have to him, could not permit me without a breach of Gratitude, to hear his* Brother, *My Lord Biſhop of* Salisbury, *(the honour of our Country) ſo ſcurrilouſly treated, without taking ſome notice of it. Theſe were the Inducements that extorted my* Firſt Letter, *and* that *occaſion'd the reſt.*

And what Conſequents theſe Lines have produc'd, if thou be acquainted in the Country where they were writ, thou canſt not but know, and if a Stranger, tho I ſhould tell thee, thou canſt ſcarce believe. I deſign'd an Anſwer to his Sermon, *if I had been allowed a Copy, which to oblige Mr.* Vicar *to ſend me, I wrote the* Firſt; *ſo that the many* Digreſſions *in the other* two, *will, I hope, meet with thy favourable Conſtruction, ſince I was neceſſitated to them by tracing of his. I have done when I have told thee, Thou canſt not be more a loſer in* reading *this, than I in* writing, *and* expoſing *it to the Cenſure of the World, contrary to my* Inclination, *and perhaps to my* Intereſt.

To the REVEREND

Mr. John March,

Vicar of *NEWCASTLE*.

Newcastle, Feb. 1. 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

LEST your narrow Acquaintance in the World, and the Retirement your Humor obliges you to, should occasion your Ignorance of the Sentiments the most thinking part of your Hearers have of your other days *Sermon*, I have given my self the trouble to write these few Animadversions upon it, which be pleased to take in good part, as coming from a Person, who as he scorns to flatter you, so he hates to treat you any otherwise, but as a Gown-man, and a Gentleman.

The first thing which occurs to me in your Discourse, is of such a nature as the Learned World, and Men of Breeding, have ever disdain'd; I mean your unmannerly way of treating a Gentleman, whose Reputation is uncapable of being in the least tainted by any such waspish Expressions as yours. Dr. *Burnet* has made a Figure in the World of no contemptible Magnitude, and such an one as obliges the *Roman Catholicks* themselves (whom none ever more disobliged,) to treat him in their Writings, with the just Character a Person of his vast Learning deserves. If in *France*, amidst the heat of Persecution against those of his own Religion; if in *Italy*, yea, in *Rome* it self, Dr. *Burnet* has been carrest by all the Learned of the *Romish* Persuasion, notwithstanding his immortal Writings against them, could it be dreamed, that in so Noble and Antient a Corporation as this of *Newcastle*, and in presence of so many Worthy Gentlemen, the Magistrates thereof, any of the Black-Robe would venture to treat this Dr. *Burnet* with the scurrilous and indecent Epithets of [*a Man that has made a great bustle in the World, an Apostate from the Church of* England, *a seditious Inquirer, a scandalous Pamphleteer, and the like,*] and to repeat such Expressions seventeen times in less than three quarters of an hour? Was this due from a Minister of the Church of *England* to the Learned Dr. *Burnet*, who to his Immortal Glory has vindicated the Reformation of that Church from the Aspersions of its Enemies, by a

History admired by all the World, and done already into several Foreign Languages? I might say more to oblige you to a blush, but sure I am, its punishment enough in it self that you did so.

The next thing I take notice of in your Sermon is your Endeavours to prove *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, a Principle founded on the Word of God, and asserted by all the Protestants in the World. Pray Sir, what new thing have you discover'd from the Sacred Text, but what has been a thousand times said, and as many times convincingly answer'd, and particularly by the great *Grotius*, a Man not much inferior to you in Learning and Judgment. I confess it's a matter of no great difficulty to talk bigly of Arguments for any Opinion, in a place where there is none to answer. But as to your asserting, That to resist Magistrates in any case, is disallowed by all the Protestants in the World, I would have you to talk this in some place where Protestant Books are forbid, but not where we have the Greatest and Learnedst of that Religion expressly allowing of it in many cases, as among many others, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Du Plessis*, *Luther*, *Melancton*, *Zuinglius*, *Dumoulin*, &c. And to evince that their Practice goes equal pace with their Opinion, I must tell you, That you cannot instance me any Protestant Church in *Europe* (*England* alone excepted,) that was not necessitated to wrestle thro its Reformation from *Popery* and *Slavery*, by resisting the Power that would have perpetuated both. None acquainted with Modern History, but knows, That *France*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, the *Grisons*, the *Low Countries*, *Swedland*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, forced their way to Reformation by Resistance, and the most of them thro Rivers of Blood. I confess it could have been wished, That calmer Methods had been used, but the then Juncture of Affairs in *Europe*, and concurring Providences of God, seem'd not then to allow them. I know that many Divines of late, among others the Excellent *Claud* has thought fit to lay the grounds of all these Wars (in the preceding Age) upon the account of Civil Interest, *viz.* Oppression, and breach of Laws; and if it be so, it meets too patly with our case in *England:* So that if we be not allowed to vindicate our Religion, at least we may vindicate our Civil Liberties, by resisting a Power that would trample upon them. And I here positively challenge you to instance one Protestant Writer of any Fame that disapproves the grounds of the Civil Wars of *France*, *Low Countries*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*, because they were either upon a Civil or a Religious Account. And upon the other hand, among a great many in better Libraries, I'll produce you out of that small one I have in this place, ten or twelve expressly proving the lawfulness of these Wars upon both these grounds, and yet in them all there were the very same Steps made that appear in the great Revolution of *England*, at this day. And that this was the Unanimous Sentiment of this very Nation *England* in the last Age, appears by its mighty protection of, and influence upon the Reformations abroad, under the happy Conduct of the Glorious Queen *Elizabeth*; so that in disapproving of Resistance,

upon the account of Religion and Liberties, you throw a black Aſperſion upon the Sacred Aſhes of a Princeſs, who at the expence of a vaſt Treaſure and many Lives, aſſiſted afflicted Subjects againſt their Tyranizing Princes: And who knows but the Almighty God may raiſe up in our Age another Princeſs to act over again the part of her Triumphant Predeceſſor, and make her a glorious Inſtrument to perfect that Reformation which the other did ſo happily begin?

I might inlarge upon a great many things in your Sermon, which this ſhort Letter cannot allow of; but I admire what bad Genius prompted you to ſtile *Self-Defence*, even in a general Notion, *an old Fanatick Principle*. VVere the Authors of the *Roman* Tables, their *Codex*, *Pandects*, and *Inſtitutions*, and all the Famous Lawyers that commented upon them Fanaticks? Is not *Moderamen inculpatæ tutelæ*, lookt upon by them and by all Mankind, as an indeleble Impreſſion fixt upon our Nature by the Hand of our Maker? If you had been at the pains to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Kinds of this *Self-Defence*, and wherein it was allowed and wherein not; you might have informed the Judgments of your Hearers; but to give it ſuch a Name without any diſtinction, I'll be bold to ſay, you are the firſt that did it in a Pulpit.

There is but one thing more that I ſhall at preſent take notice of in your Diſcourſe; and really I cannot do it without horror! Your ſaying, *That whoever medled with the Kings Forts, Caſtles, Militia, and Revenue, were in the ſenſe of your Text, guilty of Damnation.* Pray Sir, do you conſider upon whom you paſs this uncharitable Cenſure? Is it not upon a Prince, that to reſcue us from *Popery* and *Slavery* has ventur'd his All, and who ſeems to have been given us of Heaven, a Reſtorer of our Breaches? Does not this your Thunder fall upon a mighty Proteſtant State, who gave him the means to accompliſh this glorious Enterprize? In this you caſt a Blot upon all the Proteſtant Princes in *Europe*, who have concurr'd with him in it, as the laſt caſt of the Dye for our Religion. In ſhort, you throw an indeleble Blot upon the moſt conſiderable Nobility and Gentry of the Nation that aſſiſted him in this great Action: And above all your Cenſure lies heavy upon the preſent Convention, who have committed unanimouſly the Government into the Princes Hands for this Juncture: And allow me to ſay, That a greater *Scandalum Magnatum* was never tryed at a Barr, than this of yours.

In fine, Let any one of ſound Judgment conſider, if this Diſcourſe of yours be well Timed, and if it had not been more Prudence to have lockt up ſuch Notions in your own Breaſt, than by giving them vent in a Pulpit, expoſe a Noble Corporation to the Miſapprehenſions of thoſe at the *Helm* upon your account, and amuſe the People with bad impreſſions of a ſtupendious Deliverance, ſcarcely equal'd in *Hiſtory*.

Sir, I have tranſgreſt the Limits of a Letter, but if you will allow me the Favor of a Copy of your Sermon, you ſhall have an Anſwer of it at full length, by

Let me know if I may expect your Anſwer, or a Copy of your Sermon.

SIR, Your Humble Servant
JAMES WELWOOD.

To Mr. JAMES WELWOOD.

Newcastle, February 11*th.* 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

IT's certain I never knew till this Morning that you had given your self the trouble, and my meanness the honour and satisfaction of a Letter, and to make the earliest acknowledgments I could, of so particular a favour, I set my self to the Writing an Answer assoon as I had leave from the Company, your Messenger found me engaged in: You are pleased in the first place to accuse me of treating Dr. *Burnet* in a very rude manner, to which accusation I return you this Answer,

First, That I knew not that Doctor *Burnet* was the Author of that Pamphlet.

Secondly, I have been Informed that he disowns it.

Thirdly, I am willing to believe this Information for the Doctors honour, because it is well known he hath in his Learned Writings, stiffly asserted the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, insomuch that some have been pleased to tell the World in Print, that he hath asserted it even to a fault.

Fourthly, If Doctor *Burnet* be the Author of the said Pamphlet, I have not treated him so ill as he hath done a Crowned Head, and his own Sovereign Prince, and this I hope will pass for a just Apology with a Person of your Loyalty.

In the second place, you quarrel with those Epithets I bestowed on the Anonymus Author of the said Pamphlet, but it had been a more substantial Vindication of his Innocence to have refuted the reasons on which the imputation was grounded.

In the third place, You take notice that I affirm'd in my Sermon, that the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, &c. was a Principle asserted by all the Protestants in the World, but as to this part of my Sermon, either your great memory, or great understanding failed you; for that which I asserted was this, That all the Protestant Churches own the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be a perfect Rule of Faith and Manners, and for a proof of this, I do now refer you, as I did then, to the *Corpus Confessionum*, and thus you have spent a third part of your Letter in chasing your own shadow; if my Sermon had concerned me in the Controversie, I would also make it appear that you injure some of those great names you mention in your Letter, such as *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melancton* and others, by making them Patrons of Resistance, *which is but another name for Rebellion.* But Doctor *Burnet* was

was better informed by a Learned Divine of *Franckford*, as you may see in his Travels, where you find the Government of the Empire differs from this of *England*, so far that what would be unlawful Resistance here, would be but a just and legal defence there, but my Sermon is not concern'd in this matter, and therefore I shall wave it.

In the fourth place, you say that I asserted *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* of the higher Powers, as a Principle founded in the Word of God, this I confess I must own, and it is not only my private opinion, but also the Doctrine of our Church, as you may see in her excellent Homilies against Rebellion. When you shall give your self the trouble to prove these Texts are misapply'd by our Church, you shall hear farther from me, and I assure you, I urged no other Texts than what you'l find there, and this will save me the labour of copying out that part of my Sermon.

In the fifth place, you admire what bad Genius prompted me, to stile self defence even in the general notion of it an old Phanatick Principle, Sir I find you are very subject to make misrepresentations, I was not obliged by my Text to treat of self defence in the general notions of it, and I do assure you 'tis lawful to defend our selves against Robbers and private Aggressors, as it would have been for the late Archbishop of St. *Andrews* against *Balfour* and his other barbarous Assassines. This I easily grant you, but I inveigh'd in my Sermon as the Text did warrant me against such as resisted the Higher Powers, and to tell you the truth, the bad Genius that prompted me to stile such resistance, an old Fanatick Principle came out of *Scotland*, for I have in my little Library, *Buchanan*, *Douglas*, *Rutherford*, *Nephthali*, and other *Scotch* Fanaticks, who maintained Rebellion under the disguise of such self defence; and because you pretend to great skill in the Civil Law, I must tell you I have in my little Library the *Roman* Tables, the *Codex*, *Pandects*, *Institutes*, and several Famous *Civilians* that have commented upon them, and I do not find that they allow self defence against the Higher Powers. I desire you therefore to tell me whether the *Lex Regia*, or what part of the *Codex*, *Pandects*, *&c.* doth allow self defence against the Higher Powers; and I would also know whether St. *Paul* did not understand the *Roman* Tables; and the Constitution of that Oecomenical Empire, and whether he chose rather to Preach, as I did the Doctrine of Non-resistance, than that of Self-defence: I hope you will not say as a wretched *Socinian* once did, *Paulo majora canamus.* Whereas you add I should have given some distinctions of the several kinds of self defence, I think with Submission, the Text made it needless to distinguish, seeing there is express mention of Resisting the Higher Powers, which, had your zeal given you leave to have attended to, I'm so charitable as to believe you would have reserved your complaint for a fitter occasion.

In the sixth place, you tell me you cannot recount without horror the passage of my Sermon, Whosoever medleth with the Kings Forts, Militia,

&c.

&c. were guilty of Damnation, the passage fairly represented was thus, Our Saviour commands Subjects to render unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*; now since by the undoubted Laws of the Land, all Forts, Customs, Militia, *&c.* are the things that belong to our *English Cæsar*, our Saviour were he now upon Earth, would command the Subjects of this Kingdom at this time to render those things unto *Cæsar*, and not to seize them, *&c.* Is this such terrible Doctrine that you could not mention it without horror? but in *England* we bring solid Arguments, not puerile Exclamations to prove a Doctrine to be false. If then it be a sin for Subjects to seize the Kings Revenues, *&c.* as I shall presume it to be, till I see the contrary proved, it will no doubt without repentance expose the sinner to Damnation, unless you believe it to be but a venial sin; you seem a little malicious, when you make me reflect upon the Prince of *Orange*, but you can't but know, that I am discoursing of the duty of Subjects, and I hope you do not believe the Prince to be one. As therefore I had no occasion to mention him, so I can assure you he was far from my thoughts. You shew little skill in our Laws, when you call Preaching up Passive Obedience (which your Friend Doctor *Burnet* will inform you is the avowed Doctrine of our Church) *Scandalum Magnatum*; your rash censure sounds more like a *Scandalum Ecclesiæ*, you are mightily concern'd for the Protestant States and Princes of *Europe*, but I know no injury done them by my Sermon, I am confident there is not a Protestant Prince, who understands his own Interest that will be offended at the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, you are much more guilty of casting an indeleble blot upon the Noble Progenitors of the Prince of *Orange*, the High and Mighty States of *Holland*, *&c.* who will have a Reformation introduced amongst them by a Rebellion? I am not at leisure to vindicate all the Protestant Countries, but it will be a sufficient answer to your bold challenge, to inform you that the States of *Holland* give another account of their revolt from the King of *Spain*, assuring us that the constitution of the Government of the *Netherlands*, was such as allowed them to defend themselves against the Incroachments of their Prince, but the Constitution of the *English* Monarchy is different, for the 12 and 13 Statutes Car. 2. forbid the Subjects to Levy any War offensive or defensive.

In the close, you question my prudence in timing my discourse no better; this perhaps may be a complement in *Scotland*, and therefore let it pass, but Sir I must tell you I have always Preached this Doctrine on *January* the 30th, ever since I came to Town, and formerly it hath not been thought improper for that sad occasion, but received with good approbation: If the times be changed, Truth is not, and *English* Ministers of all Men ought not to be time servers; In that Sermon I follow'd the dictates of my own Conscience, and though I have read as much Politicks as my Neighbours, yet I have always thought, and do still think, that honesty is the best Policy: You desire a Copy of my Sermon, and with great modesty threaten me with

with a full Answer, but, Sir, from the little *Specimen* you have given me of your skill in Divinity, I find you are one of another Profession, and therefore I question whether it will quit cost to trouble you, but since you tell me that Doctor *Burnet* is the Author of that Pamphlet, I took notice of in my Sermon, and I hear that you have some acquaintance with that great Man, to shew my just veneration for that Learning he is master of, I shall not refuse to send him a copy of it, in case you can prevail with him to vindicate those positions he lays down there, I do assure you I should be very well content to be honestly rid of an error, I can promise my self no great advantage by. If you are in love with scribling, and think fit to communicate your thoughts, concerning those two points which are more agreeable to your Profession, *viz.* *An succus Pancreaticus sit causa principalis morborum, & an clarissimus Harveius fuerit primus inventor circulationis sanguinis*, both of which I deny, though affirmed by several of your Learned tribe, I may possible gain more by your Learning in Physick, than I have by your skill in Divinity. Be pleased to take in good part this hasty scrible, and pardon the faults thereof, by which you'l oblige,

SIR, *Your humble Servant*

John March.

To the Reverend Mr. JOHN MARCH *Vicar of* Newcastle.

Newcastle, February 13th. $168\frac{8}{9}$.

SIR,

I Expected the Copy of your Sermon, but I have received a Letter, and that of such a strain as bespeaks you no Apathist. I take no notice of your direction, but to tell you, that if you had taken the degree of Doctor in any University of *England*, you would have found the good manners in any civiliz'd Nation of *Europe*, to be design'd as such, and albeit no Man has a greater Veneration for the two great Luminaries of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* then I, yet the University where I commenc'd Doctor, would take it ill to be placed in a much lower degree. Letting this pass among a great many expressions, that smells of a redundancy of Choler, be pleased to take this Answer to your Letter, as it lyes divided in your Numerical Paragraphs.

First,

First, You are pleased to say, *you knew not that Doctor* Burnet *was the Author of that Pamphlet, the inquiry into the measures of Obedience; and though you had, yet you have not treated him so ill, as he has treated his Soveraign Prince.* To which I answer, that whether it be his or not, it matters not in this case, since common fame makes it so, and ev'ry body in this place believes it; And that you likewise thought so, would appear from that expression in your Sermon; *yea, Doctor* Burnet *himself cannot instance above three hundred Martyrs in Q.* Maries *days*, the word [*himself*] being emphatick enough to oblige your Hearers to believe you took him for the Author of that *Pamphlet*, as you call it: That you design'd that great Man in your kind Epithets, and the Person unknown, appears plainly by your calling the inquirer *a Man that has made a great bustle in the World*, giving so scurril a term to the Doctors justly acquired fame: And if it was not he, pray be pleas'd to condescend whom else you meant.

And I must tell you, this is not the first time you have spoken unkindly of him. When you talk of the Doctor his ill treating of his Soveraign Prince, I doubt not but you incline that others should share in this imputation, since the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, have treated the King worse by their actions, in your sense, than ever Dr. *Burnet* himself was capable to do by his Pen. And I assure my self, that as Conscience and Love to Religion, oblig'd these Noble Patriots to what they have acted, so the same Principle did actuate the Doctor to what he has wrote.

Secondly, You quarrel me *for minding you of the scurrilous Epithets you gave the Inquirer*, and tell me, *I ought rather to have refuted the Reasons against him.* The truth is, I was in the wrong to quarrel with such Epithets, since they seem to be congeneal with your Nature; But as to the Refuting of your Reasons, as my Memory is not the worst, so I confess 'tis none of the best, which makes me loath to trust it with any Methodick Systeme of the slender arguments you used, so as to satisfie my self in a Categorick Answer to them; But if you had wish'd for a Refutation, you might have occasion'd it, by a Copy of them; And if I had not at least endeavoured to Answer them, I would have been to blame for breach of promise.

Thirdly, You tax me with a mistake in saying, *that you maintain'd Passive Obedience to be the Sentiment of all the Protestants in* Europe, To this I answer, that if I had not evinc'd to you, that it was not their opinion, perhaps your charity would have permitted me to lye under that mistake still: And if it be a mistake, I am not in it alone, for a great many of your Hearers perswade themselves you said so. But I cannot but take notice, how unwilling you are, that the Protestants abroad should share in your darling Tenet of Passive Obedience, and your unkindness to them herein suppriscs me the less, seeing it is not the first time you have unchurch'd them, upon the account they were not so constitute as the Church of *England*. But the value I have of them, from a more intimate acquaintance, than your narrow Theatre could

could allow you, obliges me to do that Justice to the Protestants abroad as to affirm, That notwithstanding all the Resistance they made to their Tyrannizing Princes, they are as much for Passive Obedience in its true and rational sense, as the Church of *England* it self, that is, *where the Commands of the Sovereign are incompatible with their duty, they hold themselves oblig'd to suffer for their disobedience, rather than to sin.* In all their Confessions of Faith, they own Magistracy as the Ordinance of God, and disapprove opposition to it in execution of Law; But they never so far divested themselves of Reason, as to yield up their Throats to be cut by their Princes turn'd absolute Tyrants, when it was in their power to vindicate their Religion and Liberties by their Sword. That *England* concurr'd with them in this opinion appears (as I told you in my Letter) by the mighty protection they vouchsaft them in this their Resistance. Moreover, which I forgot to tell you, in all the Convocations of the Clergy of *England* at that time, there were vast sums given to carry it on, and the preamble of ev'ry Act does fairly insinuate the lawfulness of that resistance made by the Protestants abroad against their Princes; so that resistance was not only allowed by the Nation, but likewise by the Church of *England* in a full Convocation of its Fathers. And if the Church of *England* assisted so generously in the support of the Protestants abroad, at a time when their Religion was Heresie by the Laws of their Country; How much rather would these excellent Fathers of the Church have done it, if their Religion had been settled by positive and fundamental Laws, as it was after by several Edicts and Treaties. What you say *of the difference of the Government of the Empire and that of* England I know, but let me tell you, as the Golden Bull is the great Barrer against Slavery there, the same is the Coronation Oath here, and consequently if the *Germans* may lawfully resist the Emperor, or the *Rex Romanorum* upon breach of that Bull, the same may the Representatives and Nobility of *England* do upon palpable breaches of the Coronation Oath, for as the Golden Bull is the great security of the *German* aggregate Body against the incroachments of the Emperor, the same is the Coronation Oath in *England* against the incroachments of the King.

Fourthly, You tell me, *you hold Passive Obedience to be founded on the word of God, and maintain'd by the Church of* England, *and contain'd in her Homilies.* To this I Answer, 1. Tell me what opinion was ever broached in the Church, without a pretence of Scripture to back it? And what gloss can you put upon any Text of Holy Writ to prove your position, but what has been a thousand times said and as many times refell'd. Yet if you had allowed me a Copy of your Sermon, I would have endeavoured to clear the sense of the Texts you make use of (which I do not exactly remember) so as to make nothing for your purpose; And in your doing the one, and I the other, neither of us would have reason to value our selves upon that score, since I fear none of us could outdo, what has been again and again done already on

that Subject: In the mean time let me tell you, that the ſimple ſtating of the Queſtion, ſolves all the Arguments you can bring from Scripture, as I ſhall make appear in one word anon. 2. As to Paſſive Obedience its being the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have told you already that the Fathers of the Church of *England* contradicted it in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign. And where can we find more authentick records of their Opinion and Doctrine, than in the Printed *Manifeſto's*, and Acts made in Convocation. As to the 39 Articles, which is in place of a Confeſſion of Faith, and the Homilies wherein you ſay that Doctrine is maintain'd, I'll make bold to ſay, that Paſſive Obedience in the narrow ſenſe you take it, was not ſo much as thought on at the time of their Publiſhing: And albeit you ſhould find a way to make them ſeem to ſpeak for you, the ſimple right ſtating of the queſtion anſwers them ſufficiently. It would ſeem to me, that the Mitred Clergy, and particularly that excellent Prelate My Lord Biſhop of *London*, ſhould be at leaſt as well acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as any private Miniſter in a corner of the Nation, and how far they have refell'd your fond Principle, appears with a Witneſs in their committing the Government to the Prince in this juncture, and a great many other publick actings. If your Paſſive Obedience be the Principle of the Church of *England*, how few Church of *England-men* are there in both Houſes of Convention at preſent, ſince they act ſo diametrically oppoſite to it? And yet I perſwade my ſelf theſe Worthy Patriots would take it ill to be call'd of any other Church. 3. To refell your Tenet of *Paſſive Obedience* in one word, I need no more, but to ſtate the caſe fair, and without equivocation thus. Whate're can be ſaid from Scripture or the acknowledgment of Proteſtant Churches, Centers all in this, *viz. That it is unlawful to reſiſt the Magiſtrate while he is lawfully ſuch, becauſe he is Gods Vicegerent within his own Juriſdiction; But when by his maleverſations he diveſts himſelf of that Office, and aſſumes a contradictory Character, by trampling upon Laws, and endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental conſtitutions of the State, contrary to his Coronation Oath, in this caſe,* in my humble opinion, *He is no more juſtly a Magiſtrate nor the object of our Obedience, and* ſua culpa amittit Imperium; *Upon which the* Primores Regni *and the Repreſentatives of the People, may lawfully fill up the Throne vacated by ſuch palpable incroachments.* This being the State of the caſe, all the Texts of Scripture you can produce for *Obedience* to Magiſtrates, are to be natively underſtood and in a Logical propriety of predication aſſerted, of *Obedience* to Magiſtrates when they are juſtly and lawfully ſuch, but the Relatives do not meet, when the Magiſtrate by his own fault becomes diſpoſſeſt of the Office. There is one thing more I would have you to take notice of to clear this head; and it's this. There is a great difference betwixt reſiſting the Magiſtrate when he tramples upon the Religion and Liberty of any part of his Subjects, in the execution of the Laws made againſt them, *and his doing of it*, in contradiction to Fundamental Laws already made in their Fa-

vours.

vours. As for example, albeit I should acknowledge that in *Nero*'s time it had been unlawful for the Christians to resist him, because Christianity was at that time contradictory to the Laws of the Empire; Yet I cannot perswade my self, but in case the Laws at that time, had not only established the Christian Religion as the Religion of the Empire, but had expresly disallowed any other, under the severest penalties, if the *Roman* Senate, and the whole almost of the People had been Christians, I cannot perswade my self, I say, but they might have lawfully resisted *Nero*; Neither have we the least tract in the History of that age, that the Christians disallowed the Senate of *Romes* declaring that Monster, an Enemy of Mankind and of the *Roman* Empire. I would fain know, can Magistracy lodg'd in any particular Person at this day, pretend to any more Divine Right, then the *Patris-familial* Power; And yet by the Concession of Lawyers notwithstanding, I owe intire Obedience to my Father in this; if my Father divesting himself of all paternal affection should conspire my death, and endeavour my distruction, in this Hypothesis, the Lawyers say, *ei debetur Reverentia, sed non Obedientia.* And pray what seems more inconsequential to reason, and the Oeconomy of the World, yea, to the Goodness and Wisdom of Almighty God, than that some Millions of People should be so despotically subjected to the Power of one Man, of the same infirmities with themselves, as in case he should command all their Throats to be cut at once, they are oblig'd under the pain of no less than Damnation, by a thing call'd *Passive Obedience*, to submit their Necks tamely to the blow, since in no case you say they may resist. And to use the words of a Worthy Gentleman in the late Parliament, that one Man should die for the whole People, we have heard, but that the whole People should perish for the pleasure of one Man, is an unaccountable piece of folly. I have read some Champions of Regal Prerogative, and among others, the Learned *Barclay* (who though a *Scotch-man*, yet as bitter an Anti-fanatick as your self) and they all agree, that at least in these three cases, the Subjects may not only resist, but wage War against their Prince. 1. They say, it may be done so as to Dethrone him, *Si imperium abdicavit aut habet pro derelicto*: And this to be Parallel with our case in *England*, the Votes of both Houses of Convention declare. 2. They say, he forfeits the Crown, *if he either alienate it or subject it to the Power of another.* And how far a Prince bigotted in the *Romish* Religion may stretch his Zeal, *England* found by sad experience in King *John*'s days; And you that are so well acquainted with Law, cannot be ignorant of that Maxim, *quod semel datur Deo & Ecclesiæ non auferendum*: and so sweet a morsel given to Pope *Innocent* III. may be challenged by *Innocent* XI. conform to that Maxim of the Court of *Rome*. And how far *he* that endeavours to subject a Protestant State to the See of *Rome in Spirituals*, may fall under this Category, I leave it to them to judge, who are acquainted with the Policies and necessary incroachments of the Court of *Rome*, *even in Temporals.* 3. These Lawyers

acknowledge, That a Prince forfeits the Crown, *Si hostili animo in populi exitium feratur.* And how far a Prince may be guilty of this, when he endeavours to bring in a Religion *inconsistent with the Peoples eternal Happiness*, I leave it to you the Gentlemen of the Black Robe, who know best how preferable the Safety and Health of the Soul is to that of the Body, or to the Goods of Fortune. And thus Sir, I presume I have clear'd the Controversie betwixt us, by a fair stating the Question, and these necessary Glosses upon it.

Fifthly, You are offended at my Saying; *What bad Genius prompted you to call Self-Defence an Old Fanatick Principle*, and you tell me, *You was not obliged from your Text to distinguish betwixt the Kinds of it.* I refer it to any rational Man, if it was not absolutely needful to distinguish the Kinds of it, since many things may be said of the *Species*, that in propriety of Speech cannot be said of the *Genus* and *vice versa*, many things agree to the *Genus* that cannot be said properly of the *Species*. As for Example, Would it be proper for me to say in general, The Sea ebbs and flows ten or twelve times in the natural Day, without telling what Sea I mean, because forsooth the *Euripus* does so? And consequently it's as improper to say in *general*, Self-Defence is an old Fanatick Principle, without distinguishing what kind of it deserves that Name. But I'm willing your Zeal in the Delivery should excuse this mistake. You skip strangely out of the Road to meet the Murderers of the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, and lose your Pains; for I abhor the Action as much as you. As to your saying, *That Self-Defence came out of* Scotland, I hope their Neighbour Nation of *England* has sufficiently vindicated them in it, by so fairly following their Copy in this Juncture. You add, *That you have many Civil Law Books, and none of them allows Self-Defence.* I find having of Books without reading them does no great Feats. That they disallow Resistance to Magistrates *acting as such*, I acknowledge. But that there are not a great many *Senatus-consulta, Plebiscita, Responsa Jurisprudentium*, &c. through the whole Tract of the *Corpus Juris*, fixing Boundaries to the Magistrates Power, against the breaches of which, they often made Resistance worthy of the *Roman* Name, none can be ignorant, who know any thing of that Law. Must I tell you, That in all the Changes of the *Roman* Government to that of Emperour *exclusivè*, there was still a *Tribunitia potestas* lodged among the *Plebeians*, of meer design to set Bounds to the Supreme Magistrates? Hence it was, That after the Government became Imperial and more Despotick, the Emperors were obliged in Policy to unite the Tribunitial Power to the perpetual Dictatorship and Imperial Dignity. Was there ever a People in the World more jealous of Liberty and impatient of Slavery, as the *Romans*? Witness the dethroning of *Tarquin*, the *Plebeians* Insurrection against the *Patritii*, the bloody Wars of *Sylla* and *Marius*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, the unparallel'd Battel of *Munda*, &c. Yea, after that *Rome* had submitted its Neck to the Imperial Yoke, there still was left them considerable Vestiges of the Peoples and Senates Power, which in many Emergents they were

were obliged to make use of; and must I mind you of the famous Saying of one of the greatest of the Emperors, in giving the Prætor the Sword, *Pro me si mereor in me*, mention'd with mighty Applause by *Pliny* the Younger, in his *Panegyrick*?

Sixthly, You are displeased at my Saying, *I could not recount without horror your affirming, That whoever medled with the Kings Forts, Revenue, &c. were guilty of Damnation*; And yet with the same breath you say it over again, in expressing your self in your Letter thus: [*If it be a Sin for Subjects to seize the Kings Revenues, &c. (as I shall presume it to be, till the contrary be prov'd) it will no doubt without Repentance, expose the Sinner to Damnation.*] In truth, I must acknowledge my Judgment fails me in making any material Difference betwixt what *I said*, was expresst in your Sermon, and what you say your self in your Letter, for still in both, medling with the Kings Forts, *&c.* is a sin expoſes to Damnation. Then you tell me, *You had no design against the Prince of* Orange *in your Discourse*; *and in my taxing you with a* Scandalum Magnatum, *you accuse me of a* Scandalum Ecclesiæ. To this I answer, First, What can reflect more upon the Illustrious Prince of *Orange*, than that the meddling with the Kings Forts, *&c.* expoſes to Damnation. Since albeit his Highness be a Sovereign Prince, and no Subject of *England*; yet in heading and assisting these Subjects that seizes the Kings Forts, *&c.* he must necessarily incur the Guilt of a mighty Sin in your sense: For he that so far assists another in a sinful Act as without his assistance, it could not have been acted, is certainly guilty before God of the sinful Act it self. So, if the Nobility and Gentry of *England* seiz'd the Kings Forts, *&c.* and thereby in your sense expos'd themselves to Damnation; it follows necessarily, that the Prince of *Orange* who so far assisted them as to render them capable to do it, must in the same sense of yours share in the Guilt of so doing. And that this Darling Prince of all the Protestants of *Europe*, is none of yours, appears too clearly, by your refusing either to preach your self or allowing others to do it, and by your Curats leaving out the Prayer for him on this happy day of Commemoration of that mighty Deliverance, whereof God has made him the glorious Instrument. Secondly, If *Scandalum Magnatum* be not properly in its self *a Reflection upon the Honour of a Peer of* England, I am mistaken, and am willing to be corrected by those who have had more occasion to know the Laws of *England* than I have had; And if it be so, What greater blemish to their Honour and blot upon their Scutcheon can there be, than to be accus'd of Rebellion, which you say is the same with Resistance, and of Actions that necessarily without Repentance, expose them to Damnation. Thirdly, I knew not before that the giving a Check to a private Minister of *England* enveighing against the Nobility of *England*, was a *Scandalum Ecclesiæ*; neither did I dream that your single Opinion was to be estimate, that of a whole Church. The Roman Catholicks on this side the *Alpes*, scorn to lodge the Infallibility in one single Person; and that a private Protestant Minister here, should

so

so far fix it upon himself, as the least Reflection upon him, must be estimate a Scandal done to the whole Church, is a thing very new to me. In the end of this Paragraph, you would fain fix upon me the putting a blot upon the Predecessors of the Prince of *Orange*: A strange Inference indeed from any thing in my Letter. The Revolt of the States of *Holland* under the blest Conduct of that Illustrious Heroe *William* of *Nassaw*, was in my sense no Rebellion, but a just Vindication of Religion and Civil Liberties, while in your sense it must merit no better Name than Rebellion, since *Rebellion and Resistance in your Opinion are convertible Terms.* And if you will turn over the Authors that have written in favor of that Revolt, and the most exact model of the present Government of the States, I know, called *Commentariolus de Statu Belgii*, thought to be *Grotius's*, you will find a very neer Parallel betwixt the Coronation Oath of *England* and that of the House of *Burgundy*, and their Priviledges to have been little or nothing above ours.

In the last Paragraph, *You are angry at my blaming you for wrong timing your Sermon*, and tell me, *You use always to preach such Doctrin upon the 30th. of* January, *and if Times be changed, Truth is not.* In answer to this, I refer you to what I wrote in my Letter upon this Head: Only this I must say; I find it's hard to eradicate a bad Custom. You mind me of the Fate of those that have been Seasick, even when the Storm is past, and themselves on firm ground, their Giddiness continues. You have been so us'd to thunder out your little Bolts against the poor Dissenters, and to cry up *Passive Obedience* in order to their Ruine, when the edge of the Laws were pointed against them; That now when the Horizon begins to clear up, and *the Cheat of setting Protestants by the Ears* discovered, you cannot wean your self from the old beloved way of railing. About the middle of this Paragraph, *You seem to scorn me for an Antagonist, because of my being of another Profession, and my small skill in Divinity: And are pleased to promise Dr.* Burnet *a Copy of your Sermon; if so be, I can prevail with him to vindicate these Positions contain'd in the Inquiry you would refute.* To this I answer, First, I cannot but commend you in desiring such an Antagonist as Dr. *Burnet*; it were honour enough for you to be overcome by so great a hand: But forgive me to tell you, I am not so far as yet bereft of Common Sense, (although I had the honour to have such Power with him) as to desire him to stoop to so unequal a Combat. Secondly, As to my want of Skill in Divinity, I am not so impudent as to deny it: But I hope no body will blame me to love the light of the Sun, tho I cannot attain the Eagles Fortune to look that bright Planet in the Face. I am heartily sorry, That that Noble Study should be monopolized to the Clergy; for I was still in the mistake, That our Religion allowed us a share in it, *pro nostro modulo*, and was so foolish as to think, That a Physician whose proper Study is the search of Nature, might very lawfully imploy some part of his Hours in that sacred Science whose immediate Subject is the God of Nature. I am happy in this, That neither in my other Letter nor in this, I have had any occasion of demonstrating my Skill in Divinity,

or

or the want of it: And if you will not be angry, I'll tell you, You seem to me to do with your vast Treasure of Divinity, as some sordid Misers with their Money; they hoard it up so close in their Cabinets, as it's impossible for others to say certainly they have any. Thirdly, As to my want of Judgment, Memory, Skill in Divinity, and a great many other such Expressions all along your Letter, which I here take notice of once for all; I would have thought that a Man of your great Parts and Character, would have rather in your Christian Charity have pitied me, than upbraid me with a defect of Nature; For those who know us both, may tell you, That if my Spirit had not been so utterly incapable of Letters, I might have attain'd to some small Scantlings of Knowledge: My Education both at home and abroad, and the Charges of it being at least nothing inferiour to yours. I am glad to find your Paroxism over in the end of your Letter, and you inclinable to a little Sport in proposing to me Two Questions in Physick; I might laugh them over if your Skill in Physick were not greater than mine in Divinity: And to shew my self all Obedience, I answer to the first, That under your Correction a redundancy in Choler, with a little mixture of adust Melancholy, has produced more Tragedies in the Body of Man, than the Juice of the *Pancreas* is capable to do; and these Affections seldom hit the Body without allowing a large share to the Mind. As to the second Question, I was almost going to complement you, by giving the credit of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood to a Clergy-man, the great *Padro Paulo* as Bishop *Bedel* insinuates; but I am as loath to part with the Honour of that Discovery from my own Profession, as you are to allow mine that of knowing Divinity. And if I should affirm, That the 12*th*. Chapter of *Ecclesiastes* contains a true Systeme of the Circulation of the Blood, you might have a large Field to shew your Skill of Physick and Divinity at once, by demonstrating the contrary.

Now I hope my Obedience to you will oblige you to a *jus talionis*, and instead of two Questions, I'le presume but to propose one, *Viz.* Whether or not he that pays the stipend should *jure Divino*, present to the Church? This is a Question may concern you, and I am positively for the affirmative, till you convince me of the contrary.

P. S. I must add one thing more: How kindly would your Principle of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* relish with the poor Protestants of *Ireland* at this day? And indeed if they be all of your Opinion, we are like to have many thousands of Martyrs, if the goodness of God, and the Princes Conduct prevent it not.

Thus Sir, I have answered your Letter in a Strain somewhat different from yours; for your Heat and Bitterness shall not Authorize mine. If you have any further Commands for me, you shall find me ready to serve you, being that I am

SIR,

Your humble Servant,

JAMES WELWOOD.

To Doctor WELWOOD.

Newcastle, Feb. 19. 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

Good Doctor,

YOU were it seems in some danger of losing the honour of being an Apathist, because you found not in the Superscription of my Letter, the glorious Title of Dr. *Medicinæ*; but if you will be at the charge of consulting the *Heralds Office*, you may soon satisfie your self, That tho perhaps you may have commenc'd Doctor in some Foreign Academy, yet you have no claim to the Privileges of the same degree in *England*, till you are admitted *ad eundem* in one of our Famous Universities; if this Apology will not allay the effervence of your Choler, I have nothing to plead besides the Ignorance of your Quality. You are in a much greater ferment, by reason of that rude Answer you say I sent you; but others that saw it, thought it more modest than you deserved, considering these Provocations you had given me, a Person that never injur'd you in my life. But I fancy you expected from me some such mighty Complements as Dr. *Burnet* met with in his Travels, for charging me with false Doctrin, waspish Expressions, want of Breeding, scurrilous and indecent Epithets, black Aspersions, bad Genius, horrible Positions, *Scandalum Magnatum*, want of Prudence, Choller, narrow Theatre, having Books and not reading them: For these and many more are the Flowers and Embellishments of your Stile; and yet good Man, you are not capable of any Impressions of Heat and Bitterness, but more cool than the *Alpes*, and a greater *Adeptus* in *Stoicism*, than Old *Zeno* was, who yet, say some, did at last swing himself out of the World in a pleasant Paroxism of Apathy. But in lieu of your charging me with Cholerick Strains, I shall return you two known Sayings, *Turpe est Doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum, Et, Medice cura teipsum.* Before I come to examine what you may think material in your second Letter, I shall premise something concerning the Doctrin of the Church of *England*, which I think may be better gathered out of her own Authentick Monuments, than out of your Country-men barely; and this will bring us to the truest State of the Controversie. In order thereunto I shall begin with *the necessary Doctrin and Erudition of a Christian Man*, set forth by the Authority of *Henry* the Eighth, and compos'd by *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Redman*, and other glorious Martyrs. On the fifth Commandment they deliver themselves thus, Subjects be bound not to withdraw their Fealty, Truth, Love and Obedience towards their

their Prince, for any Cauſe, whatſoever it be, neither for any Cauſe they may conſpire againſt his Perſon, nor do any thing towards the hindrance nor hurt thereof, nor of his Eſtate; and they prove this from *Rom.* 13. *Whoſoever reſiſteth the Powers, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt them get to themſelves Damnation.* And upon the ſixth Commandment, No Subjects may draw their Swords againſt their Prince for whatſoever Cauſe it be; and tho Princes which be the Supreme Heads of their Realms, do otherwiſe than they ought to do, yet God hath aſſign'd no Judges over them in this World, but will have the Judgment of them reſerv'd to himſelf, and will puniſh them when he ſeeth it time. In the Second Part of the *Sermon of Obedience* in the Book of Homilies, our Church declareth, That it is not lawful for Inferiours and Subjects in any caſe to reſiſt and ſtand againſt the higher Powers: For St. *Pauls* Words are plain, *Whoſoever withſtandeth ſhall get to themſelves Damnation.* In the Second Part of the Homily againſt Rebellion, we have theſe Words, *David was fain to ſave his Life not by Rebellion or any Reſiſtance, but by flight and hiding himſelf from the Kings ſight; Shall we not riſe and rebel againſt our known mortal and deadly Enemy that ſeeks our Lives?* No, ſaith godly *David, What ſhall we do then to a* Saul *an evil, unkind Prince, an Enemy to us, hated of God, hurtful and pernicious to the Common-Wealth? Lay no violent hand upon him* (ſaith good *David,*) *but let him live until God appoint or work his end.* It is moſt plain from theſe Paſſages, That the Church of *England* forbids all Reſiſtance of the Higher Powers in all Cauſes whatſoever. And tho you and your Country-man *Barclay,* were pleaſed to trouble the World with nice Diſtinctions, our Church thinks it more adviſable to follow St. *Paul*'s Example, and uſe none at all.

Having premis'd thus much to ſtate the Controverſie aright, I ſhall now examine your Letter.

Firſt, You will have Dr. *Burnet* the Author of that Pamphlet whether I will or no, and bring ſuch ſilly Arguments to prove it, as are not worth the mentioning: But ſince you will have it ſo, I wiſh you had taken more pains to vindicate his Reputation, ſeeing he has ſubſcribed the *Homilies* and aſſerted *Paſſive Obedience* to the heighth; but this was too hot for your Fingers, and therefore you thought fit to drop it.

Secondly, In your Second Paragraph I find nothing material, for having referr'd you to the Homilies of our Church for Scripture Proofs of *Paſſive Obedience*; you are it ſeems afraid to look into that excellent Book, leſt you ſhould be found guilty of a *Scandalum Eccleſiæ*; and in truth, I muſt commend your Wiſdom, for its much ſafer writing againſt a private Miniſter, than againſt ſo glorious a Church; but believe it, you muſt not expect to go Scot-free, ſince I have now prov'd the Doctrin of *Paſſive Obedience* in my narrow ſenſe, (as you call it very improperly, ſeeing it is the largeſt ſenſe any takes it in,) to be the Doctrin of the Church of *England.*

Thirdly, You ſay that I am unwilling the Proteſtants abroad ſhould ſhare with the Church of *England* in her darling Doctrin of *Paſſive Obedience,* which

is a Story as true as many you use to tell in the Coffee-house; for if you look into the third Paragraph of my former Letter, you'll find me reproving your Learned Ignorance for abusing several of those great Names you mention, such as *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Calvin*, *Grotius*, and others, whom you represent as Patrons of Resistance, which is but another name for Rebellion. You are now forc'd to own, That the Government of the Empire differs so far from ours in *England*, that what would be unlawful Resistance here, would be but a legal Defence there; and this alone is sufficient to vindicate most of those Foreign Divines you mention. But because you are very hard to please, I shall add further out of *Sleidans Comment. Lib.* XVII. where he tells us, 'That 'the Elector of *Saxony* who was the chief Person engaged in the *German* Wars a-'gainst *Charles* the Fifth, did openly declare, That if the said *Charles* was own'd 'to be a proper Sovereign with respect to the Princes of the Empire, it 'must then be granted, That it was not lawful to wage War with him. I hope you will not be so injurious to the Prince of *Orange* as to affirm, That he is no Sovereign Prince, because he is proclaimed King of *England*. *Luther* indeed at first was ignorant (as you were) of the Constitution of the Empire, and therefore was altogether for resisting *Charles* the Fifth, but afterwards he was better inform'd by Learned Lawyers, as *Sleidan* and *Melchar Adam* Report. *Melancthon*, you'll find Orthodox in this matter, if you consult his *Loc. Com. de Vindicat. Magistrat.* Indeed some have thought *Calvin* (as you do) a favourer of resisting Sovereign Princes, because *Lib.* 4. *Institut.* he has this Passage, *Si qui nunc sint populares Magistratus, ad moderandum Regum libidinem constituti, quales olim erant qui* Lacædemoniis *Regibus oppositi erant* Ephori. *If* (saith he,) *there be any such Magistrates as the* Ephori *were among the* Lacædemonians, *they may oppose and resist Kings, but in other cases he denies it.* Now because you are ignorant of the Power of the *Ephori* among the *Spartans*, and that their two Kings were not proper Sovereigns; but the one Admiral by Sea, and the other *Generalissimo* of Land Forces: I shall for your better instruction remit you to *Arist. Polit. Lib.* 2. *Plutarch* in *Pausan*, or *Keckerman de Repub. Spart.* a Book perhaps more easie to be got in *Scotland*. You are pleas'd to triumph, because *Grotius*, as you say, is of your Opinion, and tell me, He is not inferiour to me either for Learning or Judgment; It's well that you can speak a little truth at any time, but whether it be your gross Ignorance or the liberty Travellers use to take, its very seldom that you speak all the Truth; for the Learned *Grotius*, though in his Book *de Jure Belli & pacis*, and in another written in his Younger Time, he did drop some unmeet Expressions and unsound Arguments; yet when he had weighed Matters better, he retracted his former Opinions, and in his last Works is as much for *Non-Resistance*, as I was in my *Sermon*. For proof of this *Vid. Anot.* on *Rom.* 13. *Mat.* 26. 52. *Vot. pro pace*; where he approves of the Proceedings of the University of *Oxford* about *Paræus* on the *Romans*, and allows of this their Determination, *viz. That Subjects ought by no means to resist their King by force, nor ought*

ought they to take either offensive or defensive Arms against the King, for the cause of Religion or any other thing whatsoever. But you (no doubt) will despise the Determination of our famous University, though applauded by your own *Grotius*, and imitate your Country-man *Gillispie*, who in scorn called Prayers and Tears *Oxford* Divinity. By these few instances, it will I hope, be evident to all unprejudic'd Persons, how much you have abus'd these great Names, *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Calvin* and *Grotius*.

Fourthly, In the next place, you have the confidence to tell me, That the Church of *England* is for the Principle of *Resistance*, and that the *Homilies* cannot be for *Passive Obedience*. Now this is not only to contradict me, but also to contradict your self, having in your former Paragraph call'd it the darling Doctrin of our Church. You might have receiv'd full satisfaction in this matter, had you according to my Advice consulted the Book of *Homilies*; but instead of doing this, and to have an opportunity to shew your great Talent of wrangling, you labour to evince your impudent Assertion by these impertinent Arguments.

First, Because Queen *Elizabeth* protected the *Hollanders* in the Revolt from *Spain*; but this I have answer'd in my former Letter, and obliged you to acknowledge, That the Government of the *Netherlands* was vastly different from this of *England*; so that theirs was not properly Resistance, but a warrantable Defence: This I say, you were told before, and own'd the matter, and yet think fit to serve up your twice sodden *Coleworts*, that you may seem to say something.

Secondly, You tell me as a great Secret, That the Convocation of the Clergy of *England* gave vast Sums towards the Protection of the *Hollanders*; and the Preamble of every Act insinuates the lawfulness of their Resisting the King of *Spain*. This is a Secret with a Witness; for I dare be bold to say, That the Learnedst Lawyer in *England* never heard of an Act of Parliament for Mony, made by a Convocation: But suppose the Bishops or any of the Clergy did contribute such vast Sums, it will not prove, That our Church did not own *Passive Obedience* in Queen *Elizabeths* time, as you assert; But pray Sir, were not the *Homilies* in her time? And that the Fathers of our Church did then take them in the same sense as I did in my Sermon, will appear beyond all contradiction from the Testimonies of Bishop *Bilson* and *Jewell*. I begin with Bishop *Bilson*, who speaks thus in his Book of *Christian Subjection*: 'Deliverance, if you would have it, obtain it by Prayer, and expect it in Peace: 'These be the Weapons for Christians; the Subjects have no Refuge against 'their Sovereign, but only to God by Prayer and Patience. Bishop *Jewell* in his Defence of the Apology, speaks thus, 'We teach the People as St. *Paul* 'doth, *to be subject to the Higher Powers, not only for fear, but also for Conscience sake*; 'We teach 'em, That whoso striketh with the Sword by private Authority, 'shall perish with the Sword. If the Prince happen to be wicked, or cruel, or 'burdensom, we teach 'em to say with St. *Ambrose*, *Tears and Prayers be our* 'Weapons.

This I hope will be sufficient to evince, That *Passive Obedience* was own'd by our Church in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth* of Blessed Memory, and that in the same sense, I did assert in my Sermon.

Fifthly, In the next place, you attempt to prove the lawfulness of Resisting the Kings of *England* from the Coronation Oath, which you say, is of the same import with the *Bulla Aurea* in *Germany*; but for this we have no other proof than your own *ipse dixit*, as if the Soul of *Pythagoras* by a *Metempsychosis*, had at last taken up its Lodging in a *Scots* Tenement: But I assure you Sir, your bare word is of no such Authority with me. Besides, I have already proved, That the Emperor by reason of the *Bulla Aurea*, is no proper Sovereign. And if you should say, the Prince of *Orange* is no proper Sovereign now that he is proclaim'd King of *England*, it would be as bad or worse than to drink a Health to the Success of King *James*'s Forces against all Invaders whatsoever, at that very time when the Prince of *Orange* was coming over to rescue the Nation from *Popery* and *Slavery*; and yet this you merrily did in a certain House at the lower end of *Westgate*; so that for all your pretended Zeal, you are a sneaking *Proteus*; and it would be as easie to shape a Coat for the *Moon* as for your *Latitudinarian* Conscience. But I must instruct you, That the King of *England* is a Sovereign Prince before his Coronation; nor is his Oath necessary to make him so, seeing *Henry* the Sixth Reign'd divers Years in *England* before he was Crown'd, and yet was own'd by his Parliaments for their dread Sovereign: Nay further, our Chronicles inform us, That some of our Kings were never Crown'd; and besides all this, I desire you and those of your Cabal, to shew any thing in the Coronation Oath that allows Subjects to take up Arms against their Prince.

In the next place, you pretend to give such an exact State of the Controversie, as you say, will in one word, refute the Tenet of *Passive Obedience*; and in order hereunto, you offer four Cases out of *Barclay* and others, in which as you tell me, They all agree, that it's lawful for Subjects, to resist and wage War against their Sovereign Princes. Had you read your Country-man *Barclay*, as you pretend, you would have found that he allows only two Cases in which a Prince may be divested of his Royal Dignity; and when you come to propose these four Cases, you mention only three: Such is the great Excellence of your Memory, notwithstanding that according to the Proverb, *Some stand in need of a very good one.*

First, Your first Case is, *When a Prince does voluntarily and freely relinquish his Crown and Dignity, as did* Charles *the Fifth*, Christiana *of* Sweden, and to name no more, nine *Saxon* Kings mentioned in *Fuller*'s Church History. Now in this Case the Prince who voluntarily resigns the Crown, becomes for the future a private Person; and should he afterwards by force, endeavour to recover his Dignity, which by his own consent is vested in the next Heir, he may no doubt be resisted: But sure this is not resisting a King or the Higher Powers, but a private Person in defence of a lawful King, and so is nothing to your purpose;

purpose; and pray look your *Barclay* again, and see if this Case (as you say) is there.

Secondly, *If a Prince alienates his Crown and Subjects to another*, you say, *he may be resisted*; this without any harm may be granted too: For as I own no Allegiance to a Foreign Prince, so my own Prince has voluntarily divested himself, and thrust himself into a private Capacity; and in this case we do not resist the Higher Powers, but a private Person. And this instance does also fall short of the Mark.

Thirdly, The third Case is more pertinent; for you say a King may be deposed or resisted, *Si hostili animo in populi exitium feratur.* This you have transcribed from *Grotius*, and the meaning of it is this, Whether a Sovereign Prince may be resisted in case he undertakes to destroy his whole Kingdom, or any considerable part thereof. If we may take your honest word, *Grotius*, and all that you have read, resolve this Point in the Affirmative: To which I answer, First, That *Grotius* with due submission to your vast reading, did as I shew'd above, retract in his riper Years this dangerous Opinion, which *Erasmus* in *Luke* 22. stiles *a most pernicious Heresie.* Secondly, Bishop *Taylor* calls it deservedly *a Wild Tenet*; and *Grotius* as well as he, acknowledges *it can scarce seem possible to happen.* It is certain, that we have not one single instance of it in the whole Race of our *British* Kings. Thirdly, More sober Casuists condemn the starting such speculative Cases, as Princes cutting the Throats of their Subjects, because they have been found the Incentives of Rebellion. They were such Fears and Out-crys as these, that brought King *Charles* the Martyr to the Block, and have stain'd your *Scotch* Chronicles with the Murders of above sixty Sovereign Princes; So that King *William* and Queen *Mary* will have cause to thank you for giving such early Demonstrations of your Loyalty; in the very beginning of their Reign, teaching their Subjects in how many cases they may resist, when the Laws of the Land say expressly, *That it's unlawful to take up Arms against the King upon any pretence whatsoever.*

Fourthly, Put the case that *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius* or *Nero* be the King, and your Countryman *Barclay* instances such Monsters as these, as being the greatest he could find in all History, you and he both affirm they may be lawfully resisted; it is not for me to oppose such Learned Gentlemen, but I will assure you once more, *Grotius* is against you, and I hope he is not very much inferior to your Doctorship in Learning and Judgment: And must I tell you again what I told you from the Pulpit, *viz.* That those Prohibitions against Resistance, which are given in the *New Testament* by our Saviour, *St. Paul* and *St. Peter*, were remarkably given at such a time, when these greatest Monsters of Cruelty sat on the Throne; and pray ask my Parishioners whether they do not believe our Saviour, *St. Paul* and *St. Peter* to be as good Casuists as your Doctorship and Countryman *Barclay*. Having thus destroyed the very Foundations, your State of the Controversie stood on, your slender superstructure and puerile flourishes will tumble with them.

In

In the next place, you ſtill ſeem very angry becauſe *I did not diſtinguiſh the ſeveral kinds of Reſiſtance*, I have told you already that it's lawful to reſiſt private Perſons that offer violence to us, as your Countryman *Balfour*, or any *Scotch* Doctor, if you ſhould offer to pull me by the noſe, but it's not lawfull to reſiſt publick Authority of the Higher Powers. Now ſince the Text confin'd my diſcourſe to the reſiſtance which relates to the Higher Powers, I had no leiſure to conſult *Duns Scotus*, or your Countryman *Barclay*, that I might puzzle the Cauſe, and perplex the Auditory with impertinent diſtinctions. But how comes your great confidence did not quarrel with St. *Paul*? For he uſes no more diſtinctions at all, than I did. If they had been needful and it had been lawful to reſiſt the Higher Powers, upon any pretence whatſoever, St. *Paul* who needed not your directions to State Controverſies, would doubtleſs have brought his diſtinctions along with him, ſeeing therefore he uſes none, I'm not to blame for following his Example, for it's a known Maxim *Nefas eſt diſtinguere ubi Lex non diſtinguit.* But had you not made this Cavil, you had loſt an opportunity of telling a pleaſant Story about the *Euripus*, which you ſay ebbs and flows ten or twelve times every day. What happy Men are you Travellers? Alas I could never have diſcovered theſe wonderful motions in my narrow Theatre, as you call it; ſimple Man as I was, I thought it had only flow'd twice in a day as our River *Tyne* does, being deceiv'd by the Learned *Gaſſendus* and *Petrus Gellius*, who was told of no more by thoſe Millers who reſorted dayly to that Sea.

In the next place, I expected, not without trembling, a long account of the *Lex Regia*, and numerous citations out of the *Corpus Juris*; For really, Learned Dr. when you told me that the *Roman* Tables, the *Codex*, and *Pandects*, the *Inſtitutes*, nay even no fewer than all the famous Civilians were for reſiſting the Higher Powers, you put me into ſuch a bold affright, that I was reſolv'd to have ſworn the Peace againſt you, had not *Horace* reviv'd me with a pair of Verſes, *Quid tanto feret his promiſſor hiatu? parturiunt montes, naſcitur ridiculus mus*, which I ſhall crave leave to put in *Engliſh* meeter for the benefit of thoſe you expoſed my Letters and your ſelf to,

What will this mighty boaſter ſay
That can be worth a Louſe?
When even Mountains do bring forth
The birth's ſome ſilly Mouſe.

For I do not find in your ſecond Letter one ſingle teſtimony out of any of thoſe Books, but notwithſtanding all your noiſe before, you are now as ſilent as the Moon in the Eclipſe. What a powerful Argument for reſiſtance is *Trajans* complement to the People? It might indeed do well enough in *Plinys* Panegyrick, but it will never paſs muſter in Polemicks.

Your

Your two laſt Paragraphs are ſuch an Augean ſtable of unkind falſities as will tire even *Hercules* himſelf to cleanſe, and becauſe they contain no matter of argument, but are only a bundle of malicious reflections, I ſhall vouchſafe them no other anſwer, than, *Get thee behind me Satan.*

I come now to the cloſe of your tedious Letter, and ſince you admoniſh me, that I ought of Chriſtian Charity to pity your ignorance, I ſhall be more favourable to you than you have been to ſeveral of the Clergy of this Town. However you muſt allow me to wonder a while, that you who were ſo briſk in citing *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Calvin*, and others, that you are unacquainted with; yea were alſo ſo couragious, as to appeal to the *Roman* Tables, *Codex*, the *Pandects*, *Inſtitutes*, and all the famous *Civilians*, notwithſtanding you are ſo great a ſtranger to them; you ſhould loſe all your confidence when you come to queſtions relating to your own Profeſſion: I ſhall be more civil than to inquire into the cauſe of this unuſual modeſty. But had the old Philoſopher been alive, he would have certainly got a perfect cure for his aduſt Melancholy, if not have burſt his ſpleen, to ſee a Learned Animal once more nibling at the Thiſtles; For all your anſwer to my firſt queſtion is this, *viz.* That a redundancy of Choler with a little mixture of aduſt Melancholy is the principal cauſe of Diſtempers; but had you ſaid a redundancy in Choler incorporating with the juice of the Pancreas, and vitiating the ferment of the Stomach, you would have had the renowned *Silvius*, his ingenious Schollar *Regenerus de Graaf*, and other great Phyſitians for your Seconds. Your anſwer to the other Queſtion is, That *Harvey*, and not Father *Paul* was the diſcoverer of the Circulation of the blood; and this you affirm, for no Authority you do, or can produce, but meerly out of ſpight to the honour of the Clergy. But Sir, it's well known, that Father *Paul* was a ſtudent at *Padua*, at the ſame time that *Harvey* was there, and diſcovered to *Aquapendens* the Valves of the Veins, which diſcovery that great Anatomiſt appropriated to himſelf, and ſo *Harvey* is thought by ſome of the Learned Tribe to have alſo abuſed that Father. But to deal more generouſly with you, than you will with the Clergy, this Laurel I will ſtick in the boſom of *Æſculapius*, But then you muſt allow me to paſs by *Harvey*, as well as *Padre Paulo*, and give it to *Andreas Ciſalpinus*; and if ever you happen to travel as far as *Piſa*, where he was *Profeſſor Medicinæ*, or go to *Oxford*, that you may be admitted *ad eundem*, enquire for *Andreæ Ciſalpini*, *Queſt. Med.* 4. *edit Ven. Anno* 1593, and if you do not find as perfect a Diſcovery of the Circulation of the Blood, as is any where to be met with in *Harvey*, I'll be bound to anſwer another of your impertinent Letters as long as this, and certainly I cannot do greater Penance for my Confidence. As to your Queſtion, Whether he that pays the ſtipend ought not *Jure Divino*, preſent to the Church: I'm poſitively for the negative; for the incomparable *Stillingfleet* after a moſt diligent ſearch, declares in *his Miſchiefs of Separation*, That he could not find a *vola* or *veſtigium* of a *jus divinum* for it in all the Bible; and if you will not believe him, try what you can do.

do. I will add further, That there is a Rul'd Case in our Law Books, call'd the Case of the Vicar of *Hallifax*, where it's determin'd, That every Vicar has the right of nominating his own Curate, tho the Inhabitants of the Parish pay the stipend; and if you dare to say, The Law of the Land is contrary to the Law of God, I shall leave you to be chastised by the Gentleman of the Long Robe. And now Sir, that I have undergone all this Drudgery, if for the future you trouble me with your Cholerick Impertinences, I shall commit them to the Flames, *& sic extinguere ignibus ignes*; but if you are willing to be civil and peaceable, I shall remain,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant,

Feb. 19. $168\frac{8}{9}$.

JOHN MARCH.

For the Reverend Mr. JOHN MARCH, *Vicar of* Newcastle.

Newcastle, March 3. $168\frac{8}{9}$.

S I R,

AFTER your so unusual method of exposing your Second Letter at your Stationers Shop, and thereby to most of the Town, I might have expected it my self, especially considering my so often sending for it; but your delaying it from day to day, and at last absolute Refusal, put me upon the necessity of getting a Copy of it another way. I cannot much blame you for this Conduct; the writing and dispersing such a Letter required indeed the Denial of it, to the Person for whom it was design'd. I find you are liable to the fate of him, of whom it was said, *If he had held his Peace, he might have been thought a Philosopher*; and I was nothing unwilling you should continue such in the Opinion of the Mobile. I might well spare my

my self the trouble of a Rejoinder, there being nothing in your Letter that requires one; for they must have clearer Eyes than mine, that can discover any thing material or to the purpose in it; but instead thereof, a continued shuffling and waving of the Question, mixt with so mean Sarcasms, that for your own Honour I could have wish'd you had omitted them: So that to give you an Answer I am at a great loss, being unacquainted with *Billingsgate* Oratory, and oblig'd at every turn to repeat my own words in my former Letters; which you have been pleas'd to wrest so far, as I cannot say, you have given a fair repetition of one single Sentence of mine all along yours. But to evince to the unbias's'd and knowing Persons of the place, That you are not infallible, as your admiring Mobile would have you; I have put my self upon a nauseating Task of writing you these few Lines, in answer to so indigested and immethodick a Letter.

You begin it with bantering *my taking notice of the Direction of your first*, and tell me, *That the Heraulds Office will inform me, that a Doctor of a Foreign University has no Priviledge in* England. I pretend to no great Priviledges any where; but I had reason to expect a designation you refuse not to some who scarce ever saw an University. Neither have I liv'd so obscure, or been so little imploy'd, as not to be known for what I am, by most of the Gentry and People of Quality in the place; and you notably contradict your self in saying, *You was ignorant of my Quality*, since you name expressly my Profession in your first Letter. But we shall not fall out upon that Head, since the Heraulds Office is not like to be much troubled with either of our Escutcheons. Next you would fix upon me a great ferment of Choler and Rudeness in many of my Expressions you enumerate, and tell me, *I deserved not so modest an Answer as you vouchsaf'd me, considering the Provocations I gave you, a Person that never disobliged me.* I submit both my first and second to any neutral Person, who perhaps will allow them a better Construction; and if any thing of Heat has slipt from my Pen, I hope the occasion of it will do more than procure me a pardon. It's true, you never disoblig'd me; but no Personal Injury could have affected me more, than the hearing a glorious and unparallel'd Deliverance branded in the Pulpit, with the infamous Names of *Rebellion*, *Damnation*, and the like, and the being a Witness to a Series of Actings consequential to such Expressions. You seem'd to me in inveighing against a Revolution wherein the Finger of God was so visible, to act much in parallel with those of old, who dar'd to attribute the stupendious Effects of Omnipotence to a baser Influence: And for me to have been an Apathist on such an occasion, would have been but another name for Stupidity. In your accusing me of Passion, you must needs have a fling at poor *Zeno*, and Two thousand Years rest in his Grave, must not shelter him from your accusation of a *felo de se*, albeit, his manner of Death is not agreed upon by Authors, whereof not a few allow him a natural one.

Before you come to answer my Letter, *you will needs premise something concerning the Doctrin of the Church of* England; and this you say, *will bring us to the true State of the Question*: Whereupon you are at the pains to cite several Passages out of the Book of Homilies against *Resistance* and for *Passive Obedience*, and then you subsume, *Having premis'd thus much to state the Question, you come to examine my Letter.* Sir, I thought every School-Boy knew better what it was to state a Question, than to cite Authorities to prove the thing questioned; and what gentiel Name to give your thus stating it, I am at a loss. The stating of a Question is properly *the removing all Equivocation of Terms or Amphibologies of Speech* (as the Schools speak,) *whereby both the Opponent and Defendant may agree in the same sense and meaning of the words.* And pray Sir, how came you to imagine, That the Authorities produc'd, removed any Difficulty arising from a wrong understanding of the words *Passive Obedience* and *Resistance*, &c. that are the Subjects of our Debate? If you had been at pains to cast your Eyes upon my Letter so as to read it, I presume you would have found me stating the Question betwixt us, thus upon the matter, *viz.* That to resist the Magistrate, *when he is lawfully such, and acting in execution of Laws*, is one thing; but to resist the same Person, *when he divests himself of that Sacred Character by trampling on Fundamental Laws*, is quite another: The first is certainly unlawful, but not the second. And to elucidate this, I told you, there was a great Difference betwixt a Princes trampling upon a part of his Subjects in execution of Laws made against them, and his doing of the same in downright contradiction of Fundamental Laws made in their Favours: And albeit, in the first case it were disallowable to Resist, yet in the second, reason and common sense, in my Opinion, does warrant it. And upon my thus stating of the Question, I did then, as now once for all, tell you, That all places of the Homilies, yea, of Holy Scripture it self, disproving Resistance of Magistrates, are to be understood in a natural sense, and with Analogy of Reason, to be meant of *Magistrates when lawfully such, and acting conform to Laws*, and not of Princes *divesting themselves of that Office by their own Faults and Mismanagement.* And in my giving so necessary and natural a Gloss upon the Homilies, I do but Justice to those worthy Reformers that compil'd them; whereas on the contrary, you by endeavouring to wrest their Words to your notion of *Passive Obedience*, derogate from the Reason and Learning of those Excellent Men. And thus you have lost your pains and time in citing them.

At length you come to examine my Letter, and in the first place you tell me, *I will have Dr.* Burnet *to be Author of that Pamphlet whether you will or not*; and in so doing, you say, *I derogate from his Credit, since he subscrib'd the Book of Homilies, and has asserted Passive Obedience.* A strange shuffle indeed, and of a piece with the rest of your Letter. I never so much as insinuated any such thing; and whether it be his or not, I know not: But sure

ſure I am, all your Hearers thought, and I have evinced it, as much as the matter can bear, That in the ſcurrilous Epithets you gave the Author of that Pamphet *as you call it*, you deſign'd Dr. *Burnet*; and this you wiſely paſs over without an Anſwer. I was willing to think you were now aſham'd of theſe Expreſſions; but the whole Tenor of your Letter forbids me to think, that bluſhing is your greateſt fault. It were a piece of odd preſumption, to ſuppoſe that Great Man needed any Mans Vindication, eſpecially mine: And ſure I am, in his ſubſcribing the Homilies, and aſſerting *Paſſive Obedience*, he ſufficiently underſtood the ſenſe of the Words; and his Reaſon and Learning is too great to have been cheated into your Notion of them. But you know the Sun loſes none of his Rays by being barkt at.

In your ſecond Paragraph, I find nothing but a Repetition of the Homilies yet once more to prove *Paſſive Obedience*, a Principle of the Church of *Englands*; and this requires no other Anſwer, but what I have already given you in ſtating the Queſtion, and clearing the ſenſe of the Words.

You begin your third Paragraph with another ſhuffle, in making me *call Paſſive Obedience the darling Principle of the Church of* England, than which nothing was farther from my thoughts; and to call it yours, meaning Mr. *Vicars*, was not in my Opinion, to father it upon the Church of *England*. Then you tell me, I am forc'd to own, *That the Government of the Empire is ſo far different from that of* England, *that what would be Rebellion here, would be but a legal Defence there.* This requires indeed, a conſiderable Talent of Confidence; for I acknowledge no ſuch thing: Yea, upon the contrary I aſſerted, That the *Bulla Aurea* of the Empire, and the Coronation Oath in *England*, were ſo far parallel, that they were both Barriers againſt the Incroachments of the Sovereign. One would have thought, that inſtead of miſ-citing my Expreſſions, a Man of your Character would rather have endeavoured to give a fair Anſwer, by evincing, That the *Bulla Aurea* warrants Reſiſtance, and the Coronation Oath diſallows it. You are as unjuſt to *Sleidan* as to me; for the Duke of *Saxony* is mentioned by him, to uſe no ſuch Expreſſions as theſe you mentioned; but inſtead of ſaying, *The Emperor was not a proper Sovereign*; his words are, *He is not an abſolute and deſpotick Monarch, and ſo may be reſiſted.* When you aver, *That* Luther *at firſt underſtood not the Government of the Empire when he was for Reſiſtance*, I cannot but regret his misfortune in the want of your acquaintance, ſeeing he might have been better inſtructed by you at *Newcaſtle*, than either by his Reading, or Converſe with the Greateſt Men upon the place: And I have as little reaſon to believe his Ignorance on that Head, as his recanting his Opinion; for both are equally true. As to what you ſay of *Calvin* and *Melanchthon*'s being for *Paſſive Obedience*, if I had their Works beſides me (as I have not,) I could evince the contrary from their Writings. But who knows not that the *firſt* did vindicate the *Genevans* their throwing off

the Jurisdiction both of the Bishop of *Geneva* and Duke of *Savoy*, whereof one of them behov'd to be their Soveraign; and the *last* did allow of the Famous *Smalcalde League*, against *Charles* V. Next you are so kind as to instruct me a little *of the power of the* Ephori, whereof you suppose *I am utterly ignorant*; I cannot in good manners but thank you for this condescendance; And yet it's somewhat strange, how you come to have so intuitive a knowledge of me, as without search, to find me ignorant of what ev'ry School Boy may know. I never dream'd, that *Keckerman*, *Aristotle*, or *Plutarchs* works were *so rare in Scotland* as you insinuate; perhaps the Books we have under these Names, are spurious, and you by a vast charge of enquiry, have found out the Genuine ones, that have not yet come our length; I am hopeful your charity will oblige you to bestow one true Copy of these great Mens Works, upon a whole Nation you have so great a kindness for. And yet Sir, if what we have of *Plutarch* be true, you are as ignorant of the *Spartan* Kings, as I of the *Ephori*, for if you will consult his Lives of *Agesilaus*, *Agis* and *Lysander*, you may find, that albeit *Lycurgus* found the Government lodged in two Kings, and left it so, yet both before his time and afterwards, the *Spartans* were ruled but by one King, and particularly from *Archidamus* to *Agis* the last of the *Heraclidæ*, including six Kings one after another.

Thereafter, you are pleased very obligingly to accuse me *of a downright Lye, in saying*, Grotius *allows of Resistance*, and yet with the same breath, you confess *he dropt in his younger years some unmeet expressions, and unsound arguments in his Book de Jure Belli & Pacis, which afterwards* you confidently affirm *he retracted.* I can hardly be perswaded to take with a Lye, in saying, *Grotius* allows of Resistance, since in my second Letter, I gave you his own words for it, and you your self acknowledge he did so; But I am fully convinc'd you are guilty of a thing called a mistake, in saying, *he retracted his Opinion*, for *Bleaw*'s Edition of that Book, with the addition of Notes written by himself a little before his death (*as the very title bears*) not only repeats all he had formerly said upon that Head, but confirms it with new Additions; to which I refer you. Your Reflection upon *Gillespy*, I am willing to impute to your love to his Country, and yet I perswade my self, it will meet with no better name among the most of Men, than that of a groundless calumny.

In your fourth Paragraph, you would fain fix upon me *a contradiction in first asserting Passive Obedience, to be the darling Principle of the Church of* England, *and then denying it.* Certainly, this is to try how far you can push forward an untruth without lying, I did indeed call *Passive Obedience* your darling, meaning Mr. *John Marches*, but that it's the Principle of the Church of *England*, I have evinc'd the contrary. The next time I have occasion to name any thing that belongs to you, I find I must play the Quaker, and use the word *Thine*; otherwise you will Father it upon the whole

Church.

Church. Next with the same ingenuity, you say, *I confessed the Government of* Holland *to be so far different from that of* England, *that what were Lawful Resistance there, would be Rebellion here.* I need not tell you I said no such thing; upon the contrary, I told you that the Coronation Oath in *England*, ran parallel with that of the Family of *Burgundy*, in whose right *Philip* of *Spain* was Lord of *Belgium*: And this you skip over as all the rest that's material. You use your old way of shuffling, in fixing on me the mentioning only the *Hollanders*, in the Protection given by Queen *Elizabeth*; Whereas I named the Protestants abroad in general, whereof these of the Low Countries were but a part; yet by this little trick of skill, you wisely pass over the assistance that Great Princess gave the Protestants of *France*, who never could lay claim to any such priviledges, as either the Low Countries or *England* justly pretend to, that Government being as absolute as any in Christendom, ever since *Lewis* XI. Notwithstanding of which, She protected them at a vast charge, in the Reigns of *Charles* IX. and *Henry* III. Yea, it was not only in Q. *Elizabeth*'s time, that *England* assisted the Protestant Subjects of *France* against their incroaching Princes; but in King *Charles* I. Reign, the Expedition of *Rochel* was carried on by King and Parliament, and cordially agreed to by the Fathers of the Church. What a poor shift are you forc'd to use, to evite my argument from the concurrence of the Clergy in Convocation, when you play upon the word *Act of Parliament*, as if I had named the act of Convocation thus, which I did not. All the World knows they gave considerable summs for managing that assistance given by the Queen, and thereby allowed of the action it self. Your Citations of *Bilson* and Jewel are to no purpose, the stating of the Question clears sufficiently their meaning.

You begin your Rhapsody of a fifth Paragraph, with a snarl *at my saying, there was a Parallel betwixt the Coronation Oath of* England, *and the Golden Bull of the Empire*, and yet you are not able to evince the discrepancy betwixt them. If you cast your eyes upon that Bull, you may find that by it, the Emperor is to swear observance of the Laws and Liberties of the Empire, and so does the King of *England* swear at his Coronation, the observance of the Laws and Liberties of *England*: And I would have you to take notice, that neither in the Golden Bull, nor our Coronation Oath, there is any irritant clause, expressing power to resist in case of violation of either, for the nature of the Contract warrants it, without the necessity of any such express clause. As to that Calumny, of my drinking to the success of King *James*'s Arms against all Invaders, I'll give you this advice; The first time you Preach upon the ninth Commandment, allow your self a Reflection upon that place of Scripture, *Romans* 2. 22, 23. *Thou that sayest, a Man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest Idols, doest thou commit Sacriledg? Thou that makest thy boast of the Law, through breaking of the Law dishonourest thou God?* You have been so

so unhappy in this Calumny, that it's the only one, neither my Friends nor Enemies will believe, and even in laying the Scheme of it, you shew your good nature, in insinuating His present Majesty came to *England* as an Invader, whereas none but such as you, denyed him the quality of a Deliverer. What a needless puther do you make about the Coronation Oath, *becaufe* forsooth, *the King of* England *is a Soveraign before his Coronation*? This ev'ry body knows, and yet I would have you likewise to know, that a Princes acceptance and exercise of the Regal Power before Coronation, is in it self an *Homologation of the Coronation Oath*, and he becomes virtually obliged by it, as a necessary condition of the Original Contract, betwixt him and his Subjects: And in case a King should contradict the whole tenour of that Oath by Male-administration, it were no rational excuse, to alledge, he had not actually taken the Coronation Oath, seeing it's presumed in Law, he knew the terms on which he attain'd that dignity. In the end of this Paragraph, you desire me *to shew you any thing in the Coronation Oath that allows Subjects to take up Arms against their Prince.* I have told you before that it's not Lawful for Subjects to rise up against their Princes, acting as lawful Magistrates, and there is no necessity of an express clause in the Coronation Oath, to warrant Resistance in case of a Princes overturning all Laws; Because the Nature of the thing inforces it. And moreover you will find no such express clause in the Golden Bull, nor in the *Plan* of the Government of the *Netherlands*, nor of any Monarchick Government in *Europe*, *Poland* alone excepted: So that if the nature of the Government, do not allow Resistance without any such express clause, you will be as little able to vindicate the *Hollanders* and the Princes of the Empire, from the imputation of Rebellion, as I, the Subjects of *England*.

In the beginning of your sixth Paragraph, you are heavy upon the poor Transcriber of my Letter, *for the mistake of the Figure* 4 *instead of* 3, and I am displeased at him too, for angering you. Then after your usual manner of calling me a lyer, for what reason I know not, you come to answer my three cases, which I cited both out of *Grotius* and *Barclay* with your good leave. And the first case you would answer is none of mine; for instead of saying, *a Prince may be Dethroned, when he voluntarily and freely relinquishes his Crown*, as you would have me to say; My words out of *Grotius* were these, *si imperium abdicavit vel habet pro derelicto*, which are as far distant from yours as East and West: And the case (as you word it) will not admit of sense, for he that Dethrones himself by a voluntary Renunciation as *Charles* V. needs not to be Dethroned by others: An office may be truly and properly *abdicate*, when there is no *solemn formal Renouncing it*, and to evince this I'll give you but two instances of Offices, that have a near analogy with Monarchy. If a General in the Field of Battel, would either absent himself, or by a supine negligence, refuse to give the word

of

of Command, or lead on the Army; In this case, there is no formal Resignation of his Office: And yet how unreasonable were it to debar the Soldiers from making choice of another General in so urgent a juncture. Secondly, What office seems more despotick, than that of a Master of a Ship? Now in case, amidst an imminent hazard of death, the Master cannot be prevail'd with to use his skill, to prevent Shipwrack, and yet will not voluntarily Resign his place to another: Who can justly blame the Seamen to appoint one in his place to direct them to a safe Harbour? And how near a Parallel there is betwixt these two examples, and our late juncture in *England*, the Votes of both Houses have evinced in the word *Abdicated*. The second case wherein you acknowledg Resistance is lawfull, is this, *if the Prince either alienate his Kingdom or subject it to another*. But the reason you give for it, is wide from the purpose; For a Prince may Subject his Crown to another, and yet not [*thrust himself into a private capacity*] as you call it. When King *John* subjected his Crown to the Pope, he ceas'd not thereby to be King of *England*, and the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* are true Monarchies in the Family of *Spain*, and yet Feudatory and Subject to the Pope. One would have thought, that you might have taken some notice of what I said upon this case, *in relation to the Native incroachments of the Sea and Court of* Rome, *and how far a subjection in Spirituals may usher in, a dependance even in Temporals*; But your self denyal, will not allow you to be thought too knowing, in what relates to your own Profession. When you come to my third Case, thô you at first confess it a *pertinent Case*, yet you bring four pretty Answers against it. The case being thus, *a King may be Dethron'd, si in populi exitium feratur*, you answer, 1. *Grotius retracted this opinion*; how true this is, I refer you to that Edition of his Works I formerly mentioned, wherein, instead of retracting this Case, he confirms it by his Notes upon it; you are as far in the wrong to *Erasmus*, as to *Grotius*, for having lookt upon the place cited, there is not one word there relating to this case, 2ly. you tell me B. *Taylor* calls it, *a wild Case*, which is nothing to the purpose, for none but wild Men, can be capable of it; then you say, Grotius *calls it a Case that scarce seems possible to happen*. That there have been such Monsters in the World, appears by *Nero*'s Firing the City of *Rome*, and *Caligula*'s wishing the *Roman* People had but one single Neck; yea in the late Age, have we not seen a *Northern* Prince invite his whole Nobles aboard his Ship, and order them all to be murder'd before his Eyes. It's true, we have been blessed with a better Race of Kings in *England*, than to find any such Monsters in our Annals. But how proper it was for a Divine to take notice of what I told you upon this Head, *How far a Prince may fall under this Category, who endeavours to introduce a Religion inconsistent with his Peoples Eternal Happiness*, I am willing (*as well as you*,) to appeal to your Parishioners. Thirdly, In answer to this Case, you tell me, *More sober Casuists condemn the starting of such Speculative Cases, and would*

would fix upon me ill Service done to their Majesties, in teaching their Subjects in what Cases they may Resist. For the first part of this Answer, you are pleas'd to instance no particular Casuist; and I presume you are not able to do it, unless you wrest their words as much as you use to do mine, that is, make them say what you please. But when you so positively assert *that in no case a Prince may be Resisted*, give me leave to think, I resel sufficiently your assertion, by instancing a case wherein you acknowledg you self Resistance is warrantable, *tho that case be very rare.* As to the second part of your answer, I hope I shall be found to do no bad service to their Majesties, in vindicating a Revolution wherein they have acted so glorious a part, from the aspersions you have cast upon it; And they have given the World so many and great demonstrations of a Sublim Vertue, and of their abhorrence of Arbitrary Power, as none but such as *refuse to pray for them*, will dare to imagine, they can possibly fall under any of the Cases I have mentioned; And I heartily agree with you, so far in point of Resistance, that I firmly believe, he who Resists such two darling Princes, falls under the inevitable hazard of Damnation in the sense of your Text, unless he repent.

Among a great deal of Rubbish of gentle Expressions, I find nothing in your Fourth answer, merits any notice, but one thing that has been canted a thousands times over by your sort of Men; Viz, *that the Precepts for Obedience given by our Saviour, Saint* Peter *and Saint* Paul, *were given at a time when the greatest Monsters of Cruelty were upon the Throne*, for so your express words are. Sir, even in this matter of Fact, you commit a gross mistake, for tho probably the two Apostles named, wrote their Epistles in the Reigns of *Caligula*, *Domitian* and *Nero*, yet every Body knows, that our Saviour's preaching, was from the fifteenth till the eighteenth of *Tiberius inclusivè*, who was none of the worst of Princes, especially before that time of his Reign. But as to that of the Apostles *commanding subjection at a time when Monsters were upon the Throne* to answer this, I shall take occasion to give you my gloss upon that Text, *Romans* 13. 1. 2. which has occasioned all our debate; and in so doing, perhaps I obviate all you have preached from it for *Passive obedience* and *non-resistance.* The subjection there commanded to be given to the Higher Powers, is in a proper sense, (*a standing in order under them*) as on the contrary, the Resistance prohibit is (*a Contrordinatness to them*) and so the very Etymology of the *Greek* words bears. This being the genuine Critick of the words, the meaning of them does fairly resolve into these two Corollaries. First, That the Gospel *destroys not Magistracy, nor exempts Christians from the Occonomy of Subjection*, as some Hereticks at that time vainly imagined; to which fond opinion it's very probable, the Apostle had an eye, as many learn'd Men have thought, particularly *Gerhardus de Magist. polit. p.* 34. 38. Secondly, That Christianity exempts not the Professors of it *from subjection to Heathen Magistrats*, as some Christians of that Age did maintain, having imbib'd that principle, from the *Gaulonites* among

among the *Jews*, who held subjection to the *Romans* or any other Strangers, unlawful; and that likewise this hereſie or error was in the Apoſtles view, the ſame learn'd Author and a great many others do agree. Now Reſiſtance of open and notorious Violations of Magiſtracy (in which caſe only I ſay Reſiſtance is lawful) contradicts not the ſubjection enjoyn'd in the Text, *being thus explain'd*: That ſubjection, being nothing more, but an acknowledgment of Magiſtrates, as a Lawful Power ordain'd of God for the good of Mankind. And that even at that time, this was the Chriſtians ſenſe of this precept, would appear by what I told you of the Senats declaring *Nero* an Enemy of Mankind, and adjudging him to Death, approv'd by the Chriſtians of old, and by the beſt of Lawyers and Caſuiſts of late; as for inſtance, *Bodinus de Republica. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 5. And further, That the Subjection here required, is not to Princes *abuſing their Power by trampling upon all that's Sacred*, (as you would have it in naming of *Nero*,) is evincible from theſe Reaſons: Firſt, Such Princes are not *the Ordinance of God*, the Relative of Subjection, being they act in oppoſition to God. Secondly, they are not *a terror to evil doers*; nor *Miniſters of God for our Good*, except in the ſenſe that afflictions and plagues are, and ſo they are defective in the neceſſary Qualities of theſe higher powers to whom Subjection is enjoin'd in the Text.

In your ſeventh paragraph after ſome expreſſions becoming the gravity of a Divine, you will needs vindicate once more, your not making any diſtinction, *when you term'd ſelf defence an old Phanatick principle*, and the reaſon you give, is, *becauſe the Apoſtle made none in your Text.* By the ſame reaſon, you would make but a ſorry comment upon many places of Scripture: to inſtance one for all, our Saviour commands us *to ſwear not at all*; Now would it be here impertinent to diſtinguiſh betwixt the kinds of Oaths, in order to explain, what Oaths are lawful and what not, becauſe our Saviour made no diſtinction. You have unluckily ſtumbled upon the *Euripus*, in contradicting me for ſaying, *that it flow'd and ebb'd ten or twelve times in the natural day*, and you very confidently allow it *no frequenter tides then the River Tyne.* This in any other, would be called an unaccountable miſtake; the feweſt motions any Author allows it, being five Tides in the four and twenty hours. And that my account is true, I refer you to Sir *George Wheelers* Travels, where that ingenious Gentleman gives you an exact Scheme of the ebbing and flowing of this Streight, as he had it upon the place, from Father *Babin* and the Millers thereabouts. When upon this ſcore, you ſatyrically envy *the happineſs of Travellers*, I think ſuch men as you, are much more happy then they, if *Claudians* deſcription *of the happy man of* Verona be good: For it ſeems, he took *Benacus* lake for the *Ocean*, and you take meaſures of all the Seas of the World, by the River of *Tyne*. Next you tell me *you expected from me a great many Citations out of the* Roman *Law, for reſiſtance of higher powers*, and becauſe of your diſſapointment you charm me with four Heroick Lines. Sir, I did

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indeed tell you, *the* Roman *Laws fixt a great many boundaries to the Magistrates power, and that the Tribunitial Office was lodg'd in the* Plebeians *for that very cause*; I also told you *the* Romans *were of all People the most impatient of Slavery,* and gave you a hint, why *after the Government of* Rome *became more despotick, the Emperours were oblig'd to confound the Tribunitial power with the Imperial dignity*; and all this you wisely pass over. It were to transcribe too great a part of the civil *Roman* Law, to instance all the Laws and Sentences against Arbitrary Government; But let these two suffice at present: The first is of *Theodosius* the younger. *Cod. Justin. lib.* 1. *tit.* 24. *Princeps tenetur. The Prince is bound to the Laws, on the Authority whereof his Authority depends, and to the Laws he ought to submit.* The second is of *Constantinus Leo in Bizantin. pro communi. The end of a King is the general good, which he not performing, he is but the counterfeit of a King.* These two I rather instance, because the first is a more ample commentary upon *Trajans* expression to the *Prætor*, than I can my self agree to; And the second a clear confirmation of what I said, in stating of the question, *that Princes divest themselves of that sacred Character by their trampling upon Laws.* As to your Rhyming, albeit you have aped *Cleveland* in a great many expressions of kindness to my Countrey, and have coppied *verbatim* out of one of his Letters, that *raillery of the Mares eating Thistles*; yet you come not altogether up to the Stile of that ingenious Poet in your *lofty Verses.*

In the end of this Paragraph, you tell me, *that my two last Paragraphs are such an* Augean *Stable of unkind falsities as will tire* Hercules *to clear*; *and because they contain no Argument*, you vouchsafe them no other answer, but *get thee behind me Satan.* I acknowledg that in these Paragraphs I take notice of more than one single *Augean* Stable; but you know with whose furniture Repleniſh'd. And pray Sir, is't a falsity, that you entail'd no less then *damnation* upon these that meddled with the Kings Forts, Army, Revenue, *&c.* Seeing not only in that Sermon, but in your first Letter you *repeat it in expres words.* Was there no matter of Argument in what I told you, *of your rash Censures being levelled no lower than a Crown'd Head?* Was it not proper for you to answer what I said in relation to you charging me with *Scandalum Ecclesiæ*, for *checking your inveighing against the Nobility of England?* Is it a falsity, that you neither preach'd your self, not would allow your Pulpit to others, *on the Thanksgiving day appointed for the late mighty Deliverance?* When you cannot but know, that all honest Men of the Place exclaim'd against you for it; And you know best what it meant, instead of a Sermon on that day, to have read in one of the Churches, the *Homily against Rebellion.* I am loth to rake up any more of the dung of this your *Augean* Stable, since the naming of Particulars, might occasion such Consequences as I do not wish you: And my silence herein should oblige you to a blush for your manner of treating me. But when you call all these things *falsities*, you put me in mind of the Nature or rather Epologue of

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that Animal, who darkning his own Sight by shutting his head into a hole, fancies himself invisible to others. Above all things, I cannot dream how you came by the Office of an *Exorcist*. I took it for one of the Orders of the *Romish*, and not of the Reform'd Church; but I confess I'm oblig'd to you for a great many things, I never knew before.

Now because your heavy charge of Rebellion was so clearly levell'd against the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, for their medling with the late King's Forts, Castles, *&c.* And by *ther Resisting his Forces*, which more then once you say, *is but an other name for Rebellion* : It were easie to demonstrate that the Nobles and People of *England*, have not only done so before, in former ages, but depos'd their Tyranizing Princes, and alter'd the direct and Lineal Succession of the Crown, tho they justly adher'd to the Royal Blood : I shall only give you one instance of each of these. As to their Resistance and medling with Forts, *&c.* We have the famous instance in King *Henry* the III. from whom the *Magna Charta* was obtain'd by the Nobles and People of *England*, by the edge of their Swords. Of the second, *Richard* II. was a memorable Example, where neither the fresh remembrance of his excellent Father, nor his own promises of amendment, could save him from having fourteen Articles of Maleversation exhibited against him, and then deposed. Of the altering the direct Lineal Succession, we have a paramount instance in *Cooke* 4. *inst. p.* 36. 39. where notwithstanding *John de Beaufort*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, was in his *Legitimation* formally and expresly *excluded from the Crown of England*, yet the Parliament entail'd the Crown upon *Henry* VII. heir of *Lyne*, to this *John* of *Beaufort*, and to the heirs of King *Henry*'s Body, and that even before his Marriage with Princess *Elizabeth* of the Family of *York*, who in *Cook*'s opinion had the neareſt right to the Crown in her own Person.

As to your last Paragraph, I deserved to be laught at, if I had troubled my self with a formal answer to *your Physical questions*, as you call them. Yet methinks I should have had more thanks for giving you a hint of your Distemper without a Fee, then to have my words repeated otherwise then I wrote them : For I spoke nothing of *the principal Cause of diseases*, but told you that *a Redundancy of Choler with a little of adust Melancholly, produces more Tragedies in the Body of Man, then the Juice of the* Pancreas *is capable to do*: and perhaps you find it so, to your own cost. Let us not quarrel for the honor of *the discovery of the Circulation of the Blood*. If you be pleased to compare *Andreas Cisalpinus* and *Harvey* together, I hope you will alter your opinion, and if you send to me for the former, it may ease you of a *Pisa* or *Oxford* journey. Before I leave this, I cannot but admire your skill in the *Belles Letters*, for I have often read, that Laurels were wreath'd about the Victors head, but that they were stuck in their bosoms, I owe it to your discovery. I expected you would rather have bestowed it on *Solomon* then on *Cisalpinus*, which I gave you a fair opportunity to do; but when

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any thing of Divinity comes in the Play, you are as silent as the Moon in an Eclipse, *to use your own words*, tho I knew not before, she was more silent at time then any other, and would be gladly informed what Language, at other times she Speaks. As to our Law Question, I am not much concern'd on either side, being in no great hazard of being either a Vicar or his Curat. You know the reason why I proposed it, and you may do in it, as your Christian Wisdom shall dictate to you. But what a wretched notion have you of the term *Jure Divino*, when you confound it with (*not being contrary to the Law of God.*) And that you fall not into so gross a mistake a second time, I refer you to the excellent and learned Author you named, his *Irenicon*, where you may learn a better definition of it. After so Learned an Answer to my Letter, I expected one to my Postscript, and thought, you might perhaps teach the World some middle way betwixt the poor Protestants of Ireland's *Resisting King James*, and *their tamely yielding up their Throats to be cut*, but this so seasonable a Secret you keep to your self.

Thus I have done with you and your Letter, and never any of *Loyolla*'s Sect injoyn'd a more nauseous Penance on their Votaries, then I on my self in giving you an Answer. Take it as the last you shall be troubled with, from,

SIR,

Your humble Servant,

James Welwood.

ERRATA.

Page 11. Line 14. for in this, read in *Thesi.* p. 16. l. 27. for *Barly*, r. *Barclay*. p. 22. l. 27. for bold fright, r. bodily fright.